

July 22, 1982

The Rev. B. S. Hruby 545 West 111th St., 3A New York, N.Y. 10025

Dear Mr. Hruby:

Many months ago Dr. Laubach and the editors of the <u>Messenger</u> agreed that the latter would carry no further personal attacks on members of the staff of Riverside Church, nor on members of the church. That agreement has been consistently violated. For example, on page 3 of the July issue a member of the church is identified as "the little bent lady" after earlier being described as one whose T-shirt "brought to mind the Will Rogers observation that fashion oftentimes induces women to go much further than their physical attributes would allow."

Understandably, members of the staff resent having to print and mail such attacks on their fellow staff or church members. So would you please from now on have the Messenger printed and mailed from some place outside the church.

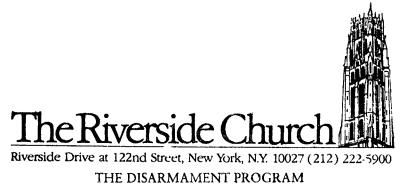
Sincerely yours,

William Sloane Coffin, Jr.

Enc.

WSC:Jr.

cc: Mary Ida Gardner Joan Walsh Campbell



MAKE A DATE WITH DISARMAMENT!

You are cordially invited to our Sunday Series, <u>COFFEE: GROUNDS FOR DISCUSSION</u>, the following Sundays at Riverside Church at 12:30 p.m. in the 9th Floor Tower Lounge (unless otherwise noted) for coffee and stimulating discussion.

September 26	Rev. William Sloane Coffin will speak on his recent travels in an EYEWITNESS REPORT ON NICARAGUA AND HONDURAS: ON THE BRINK OF WAR?	
October 10	Rev. Mike Clark, Asst. Director of the Disarmament Program, and Ms. Marta Daniels, Connecticut AFSC, along with other Riversiders will report on their THREE WEEKS IN THE SOVIET UNION including their trip up the Volga, the disarmament workshops they led and participated in on the boat, and their impressions of the Soviet Union and its people.	
October 31	Roger Wilkins, author and journalist, and Dwain C. Epps, Director of International Affairs for the National Council of Churches, will speak on RACISM AND MILITARISM: COMMON ENEMIES, COMMON DANGERS.	
November 21	Alan Wolfe, Professor of Sociology at Queens College and a regular contributor to <u>The Nation</u> , and Carl McCall, Candidate for Lt. Governor of New York, will give <u>AN ANALYSIS OF THE NOVEMBER ELECTIONS</u> .	
December 19	What are the prospects for peace? <u>NEGOTIATIONS AND</u> THE ARMS RACE: SALT, START, FREEZE?	
And don't forget the FALL STUDY ACTION SERIES, Wednesday evenings at 7:30!		
October 6	IS THE WORLD BIG ENOUGH FOR THE U.S. AND THE U.S.S.R.? Rev. Mike Clark	
October 13	DO YOUNG PEOPLE HAVE A RIGHT TO SAY ''NO'' TO WAR? A draft resister with his attorney.	
October 27	WHAT HAPPENS WHEN YOUR FAITH CONFLICTS WITH YOUR WORK? Ron Coleman, former Air Force Captain at SAC Headquarters, now a software engineer from Beaverton, Oregon.	
November 3	IF IT'S GOD'S WORLD, HOW CAN WE HELP PRESERVE IT? Mike Jendrzejczyk, Fellowship of Reconciliation Cora Weiss, Director, Riverside Church Disarmament Program.	

HOLD THE DATE for the National Conference of the Riverside Church Disarmament Program, March 13, 14, & 15, 1983!



William Sloane Coffin



Gustavo Gutierrez



Robert Bellah



Elizabeth Bettenhausen



Joseph Roberts



Rosemary Ruether

The Second Fosdick Convocation on Preaching

Preaching in America: Speaking Truth to Power

You are invited to the Convocation at the Riverside Church, 490 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10027. Begins at 1:30 pm on Monday, October 18, 1982. Concludes at 5 pm on Thursday, October 21, 1982.

- Worship with PROFESSOR JAMES FORBES preaching Tu Wd Th
- 10:00 Lectures with PROFESSOR ROBERT BELLAH—Discussion after each lecture

"Christian and Citizen: Social Responsibility in a Time of Confusion"

- Tu "American Society Today;" Wd "The Church;" Th "The Christian as Citizen"
- 1:30 Lecture Series — Discussion after each lecture
 - Mo- DR. WILLIAM SLOANE COFFIN
 - "Speaking Truth to Power"
 Tu— PROFESSOR ROSEMARY RUETHER
 - "Developing a North American Liberation Theology for the White Middle Classes"
 - Wd- PROFESSOR GUSTAVO GUTIERREZ
 - "Speaking about God: From the Presence and Absence of God"
 - Th- PROFESSOR GUSTAVO GUTIERREZ
 - "Speaking about God: From the Sufferings and Hopes of the Poor"
- 3:00 Lecture Series — Discussion after each lecture
 - Mo-PROFESSOR ROSEMARY RUETHER
 - "The Challenge of Feminism to Liberation Theology"
 - Tu- MR. THADDEUS GARRETT
 - Assistant to the Vice President of the U.S. for domestic policy
 - Wd- MR. NORMAN LEAR
 - TV producer and founding member, People for the American Way
 - Th- PROFESSOR ALAN BOESAK
 - A South African Reformed theologian addresses the church
- Worship with the Convocation preachers and the Riverside Choir 7:30
 - Mo- DR. JOSEPH L. ROBERTS, JR.
 - Tu- PROFESSOR ELIZABETH BETTENHAUSEN
 - Wd- DR. WILLIAM SLOANE COFFIN
- Luncheon Seminar Series (Lunch cost, \$5; dinner,\$7. See reservation form. 11:30
 - Tickets also on sale at Convocation to room limits.)
 - Tu 1- DR. ERNEST T. CAMPBELL, Leader
 - "Preaching on Controversial Issues"
 - Tu 4- DR. JEANNE AUDREY POWERS, Leader, with DR. SUSAN THISTLETHWAITE speaking
 - "Women in Ministry: Dealing with Domestic Violence"
 - Tu 7- DEAN WALTER MUELDER, Leader
 - "Prophetic Preaching"
 Wd 2— DR. ERNEST T. CAMPBELL, Leader
 - "Preaching on Controversial Issues"
 - Wd 5- DR. ROBERT L. POLK, Leader, with DR. RICHARD SHAULL and
 - THE REVEREND JOHNNY YOUNGBLOOD "Change and Challenge in the Inner City"
 - Wd 8— MS. VALERIE RUSSELL, Leader
 - "Theological Urban Symbols"
 - DR. ERNEST T. CAMPBELL, Leader
 - "Preaching on Controversial Issues"
 - Th 6- DEAN JOSE CARABALLO, Leader
 - "Role and Challenge of Hispanic Protestantism"
 - Th 9— PROFESSOR MAX STACKHOUSE, Leader
 - "Toward a Public Theology
- Mo 10- PASTOR JIM WALLIS, Leader 5:00
 - "Making Common Cause with Evangelicals" Tu 11- PROFESSOR FREDERICK SWANN, Leader

 - "Music, Major Factor in Worship"
 Wd 12— DR. PAUL SHERRY, Leader, with DR. STEWART M. HOOVER speaking
 - "The Media Challenge to the Churches"
- Special Opportunities following Evening Worship 8:30
 - Mo- "Preaching Disarmament, and Integrating it into the Life of your Church." with
 - The Rev. Mike Clark and Mrs. Cora Weiss, Leaders. 9th Floor Tower "Are the Russians Really Coming?" with Professor Arthur Macy Cox, Harvard University, Leader. 10th Floor Tower
 - Tu- Reception for Alumni/ae and Friends of Colgate Rochester/ Bexley Hall/Crozer. 9th Floor Tower
 - Reception for Alumni/ae and Friends of Union Theological Seminary. Social
 - Room, UTS Wd— Reception for United Church of Christ and Christian Church (Disciples of Christ).
 - 9th Floor Tower Reception for United Presbyterians, USA, and Presbyterians, US. 10th Floor Tower
 - Reception for United Methodists. Room 411, South Wing
 - Reception for all Baptists. 15th Floor Tower

Second Fosdick Convocation on Preaching— Basic Information for Registrants

Sponsorship

The Second Fosdick Convocation on Preaching is sponsored by: The Riverside Church, Union Theological Seminary, Trinity Institute (Episcopal), United Presbyterian Church, USA, and Presbyterian Church in the U.S., United Church of Christ Board of Homeland Ministries, Committee of Denomination Executives of New York City. Cooperating in the development of the Convocation are officers and agencies of New York Theological Seminary, American Baptist Churches, United Methodist Church, Reformed Church in America, Council of Churches of the City of New York.

Notes

Special events for Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday evenings may be arranged by calling Ms. Barbara Nelson at The Riverside Church/Fosdick Convocation on Preaching, 212/222-5900, ext. 218, 415.

Tapes of all sessions will be available for purchase at the Convocation.

Public Transportation

Riverside Church is located in Morningside Heights, Manhattan, near Columbia University. To reach it by subway: No. 1 IRT local (West Side) to 116th Street and Broadway, walk past Columbia University to 120th Street, then one block west to Claremont Ave. Entrance is at 91 Claremont Avenue, between 120th and 122nd Sts. By bus: No. 4 and No. 5 buses stop in front of the church on Riverside Drive at 120th Street. No. 104 stops at 120th and 122nd Streets on Broadway. Walk one block west to Claremont Ave.

Parking

No parking is available at Riverside Church. On-street parking is very limited. NO items should be left in parked car, even in trunk. Cars must be moved during the hours posted for street cleaning.

Public garages will take cars on an available-space basis. We advise contacting in advance to pay for assured space if you wish to use extensively.

PJA Garage Inc. — 532 West 122nd. Ph. (212) 866-5671 Triangle Garage — 627 West 125th. Ph. (212) 666-8405 Next area for public garages is 94th-96th Streets, on both sides of Broadway. Take #104 Bus (North) to Riverside.

Housing

The following housing information is for your use. Experience has indicated that your direct contact with housing possibilities is the most satisfactory. The following hotels are all convenient to public transportation to Riverside Church, and offer the special rate listed to Convocation registrants. Address "Reservations," using form provided. All rates listed are "per diem."

The Empire Hotel (212/265-7400) 63rd & Broadway, New York, NY 10023; Convocation rate: S-\$42; D-\$52

Hotel Roosevelt (212/661-9600) 45th & Madison, New York, NY 10021; Convocation rate: S-\$82; D-\$92

Hotel Taft (212/247-4000) 50th & Seventh Ave., New York, NY 10019; Convocation rate: S-\$35; D-\$42

Hotel Wellington (212/247-3900) 871 Seventh Ave., New York, NY 10019; Convocation rate: S-\$44; D-\$54

West Side YMCA (212/787-4400) 5 West 63rd St., New York, NY 10023; Rate: S-\$19.50; D-\$25 (limited number available)

Vanderbilt YMCA (212/755-2410) 224 East 47th St., New York, NY 10017; Rate: S-\$18 D-\$26. No special rates for the Convocation but discounts for YMCA members at these two places. West Side is very convenient to Riverside Church. Vanderbilt is over an hour away, but near #104 bus.

Seamen's Church Institute of NY & NJ (212/269-2710) 15 State St., New York, NY 10004; Rate: S-\$33; D-\$45. No special rate. A subway ride of 45 minutes, all on IRT #1.

REGISTRATION — Fosdick Convocation on Preaching Oct. 18 at 1:30 p.m October 21 at 5:00 p.m. Riverside Church, 490 Riverside Drive	HOUSING RESERVATION (Send directly to hotel)
New York, N.Y. 10027	Name of hotel
l enclose \$ for registration (\$40.00 for self, \$60 w/spouse) (\$10.00 for seminary students with I.D.)	The undersigned is a registrant for the Fosdick Convocation on Preaching at the Riverside Church. I am requesting: Single(s) @ \$/diem for Oct. 17 18 19 20 21
l enclose \$ for seminars (meal costs) @ \$5.00	
Tu 7 Wd 8 Th 9 Wd 12	Double(s) @ \$/diem for Oct. 17 18 19 20 21 (circle appropriate dates)
I would like to receive two Continuing Education credits.	Signed
Please make check payable to: The Riverside Church/Fosdick Convocation	
Signed	Address
Address	Phone
Position/Denomination	
Phone	 t
Note: Single-Day Registration, for any of the four days of the Convocation, is \$20.00.	i

Riverside Church Disarmament Program 490 Riverside Drive • New York • NY 10027

JUNE 12 / NEXT???

The message of public opinion was clear, dignified, and peaceful. Nearly a million people gathered in NYC on June 12 to say, ENOUGH, STOP, FREEZE, DO SOMETHING! Before the day was over, the question, "What next?" replaced the protests.

We've got to march these feet into the election booths of November. Demonstrators must be translated into voters. The FREEZE will be on the ballot in 5 states as a referendum for voters to approve—California, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Wisconsin, Montana—and probable additions are Arizona, Washington, D.C., and Michigan. 20% of the American people will have a chance to vote on stopping the production of nuclear weapons and the vehicles to deliver them. Candidates will be challenged by determined voters: What does national security mean to you? Which weapons systems would you agree to reduce, or prevent from being developed? How do you propose to reinstate scholarship aid to students who will be deprived of higher education? What about alternative energy systems, programs to provide formula for infants of noor mothers and many more.

vide formula for infants of poor mothers and many more.

To vote you've got to register, and we'd all be surprised at how many people who are not registered—new voters, folks who have moved, those who never bothered. Riverside will start a model voter registration program for the religious community. Once it's in place and working we'll send you the results so that you might try it in your synagogue or church.

THREE STAGE PROGRAM FOR YEAR

Continuing education will be provided for the new voters and others on the new weapons systems, the Russians, legislation before Congress, civil defense, the economy, and developments in the European movement. The link between conventional and nuclear weapons; the North-South struggle against East-West interests; the Weinberger Defense Guidance and registration and the draft. These are among the subjects we will be reviewing, developing materials for study and suggesting that everyone, especially new voters, learn more about.

But well educated voters are not enough. We will never give up on the value of visible expressions of public opinion to complement voting and influence policy between elections. So we will consider forms of *direct action* for the spring especially during Peace Week, called by the National Council of Churches, May 22 ending with Peace Sabbath, May 29, 1983.

CORETTA SCOTT KING:

We are here today because we believe that human survival and prosperity require a nuclear arms freeze. We are here because we believe the concept of "limited nuclear war" must be abandoned. We are here because we can no longer allow the suicidal nuclear arms race to drain the world economy.

VICTOR GOTBAUM:

The Reagan Administration tells us that certain armaments are good for the economy. It costs \$1 billion for 36,000 soldiers whereas the same money could put 72,000 people back to work. It costs \$1 billion for MX missiles; that same billion dollars would give you 45,000 health workers to heal, to cure, to help the sick. What the hell kind of society is this?

RANDALL FORSBERG

The American people are fed up with the nuclear arms race. We're scared of the nuclear arms race, and we should be. The people who are simpleminded are not the people who call for a freeze; they're the people who think we can race forever without incinerating ourselves. Those are the people who have lost some of their marbles . . . Reagan, Washington: Stop the nuclear arms race. If you do not, we will remember in November.

DOWNWIND CANCER VICTIM:

We don't have to have a declared war in order to kill our people; we're killing them every day in Nevada and Utah.

LEADER OF BRITAIN'S CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT GETS LONGEST APPLAUSE

Representatives of Non-governmental organizations were given two days to make brief presentations before the General Assembly of the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament. One of the best received was from Joan Ruddock, Chairperson of CND, London.

She admitted that her country is contributing substantially to the risk of global nuclear war, but the policies it pursues are "... not agreed by the British people and it is for that reason that our and other peace campaigns are attracting such immense support. We now have a mobilised, aware and expectant public opinion, informed of the risks and the costs of the arms race and impatient for action," she said. "... various opinion polls taken over the

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UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL SESSION — A TRAGEDY

Asked if the Second Special Session on Disarmament was a success, you get the answer: "No, it was an unmitigated failure" (Homer Jack), or "A major tragedy" (Cora Weiss). After a hopeful beginning on June 7, disappointment took over as time went by. None of its humble aims were reached. The World Disarmament Campaign, launched on the first day of SSD II by Alfonso Garcia Robles of Mexico, failed to be financed; the working group on a Comprehensive Program of Disarmament interrupted their work without finishing; efforts for a document assessing the implementation of SSD I were not commonly supported; and the leaders of the states participating did not present any new outlooks or open any possibilities for change. On the contrary, President Reagan had a military aid carrying his "black box" for nuclear command while speaking at the UN. Two wars were overshadowing the vain efforts of diplomats and non-governmental organization speakers. Public interest, massively shown on June 12 and sufficiently reported in the media, seems not yet to have the impact on the business of international affairs. There is still a long way to go

VISAS BLOCKED

Those of us who were involved in building events around the Special Session were angered when 550 international visitors were denied visas by the US government in the weeks prior to the opening of the UN Assembly. While the initial publicity was quite extensive, few people learned of the final outcome.

In fact, the US government responded to pressure and permitted some 250 of those initially denied to enter the US for the disarmament activities, but held firm on prohibiting 300 others, including 275 Japanese, from attending the events. Taken to court by the denials, the government's position was upheld by two federal courts who ruled that the executive branch has considerable power to determine who can and who cannot enter the US.

The denial of visas was a blow to the disarmament movement and yet another indication of the link between the struggle for peace and the struggle for civil liberties.

JUNE 12 RALLY OPENS WITH BLESSING

25 representatives of the religious community stood, the United Nations to their right and thousands of marchers before them, and in unison blessed the Special Session on Disarmament and the march and rally that was, by the end of the day, to become the largest in history.

We gather today as people of many faiths and traditions.

At their best, these traditions search for the truth about life and death. At their best, they also embody the truth that love and justice are at the center of the universe.

Love is the motive force of life:

- the love of the Creator for the creation threatened today by the mere existence of nuclear weapons;
- the love of the Creator for all people who live side by side with the Bomb;
- the love and compassion of the Creator especially for the poor and the oppressed who suffer as the result of the global arms race.

Believing these things, we join you in speaking, marching, offering mutual support and hoping for the success of the Second United Nations Special Session on Disarmament, for a freeze and reduction of all nuclear arsenals, and a transfer of military funds to human needs.

In gratitude for the vision which keeps us going and in gratitude for each other, we declare our belief that love is stronger than death, and that a united struggle on the side of life will prevail.

So be it.

Vol. IV, No. 7 August 1982

New York, N.Y. 10027 Riverside Drive at 122nd Street The Riverside Church Disarming Notes

Permit No. 11794 New York, N.Y. **GIA9** JOSTAGE 3.0 Non-Profit Organization

RIVERSIDE ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Save the dates, March 13, 14, and 15, 1983 for our next national conference with an international flavor. Details later.

ISRAEL AND LEBANON

For most of our four-year history, the Riverside Church Disarmament Program has structured our work around three basic goals: a freeze and reduction of nuclear arsenals, an end to military intervention, and a shift of resources from the military budget to human needs and development. From time to time, e.g., the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, these general principles have led us to issue quite specific statements on current crises. The situation in Lebanon is one such crisis.

We condemn the scope of Israel's invasion of Lebanon as being far in excess of any legitimate security needs. Beyond the immediate, tragic suffering of hundreds of thousands of Lebanese and Palestinians, as well as Israeli soldiers, the resent course dims all prospects for any long-term, peaceful resolution of the problems of the area

We call for: an immediate Israeli withdrawal; a suspension of U.S. military assistance until such a withdrawal has been effected; humanitarian aid to those victimized by the fighting; and Israeli-Palestinian discussions directed at nutual recognition of the national rights of both peoples.
We salute the courageous Israeli peace movement.

DRAFT INDICTMENTS BEGIN

In early July, after months of delays and false starts, the Reagan administration finally began to move against young men who had not registered for the draft under the program begun by the Carter administration in July; 1980. Grand juries indicted Benjamin Sasway of San Diego, California, and Enten Eller of Harrisonburg, VA on charges of non-registration. If convicted, the two men could be sentenced to five years in prison and/or fined up to

The response of the anti-draft movement has been swift, with press conferences, vigils and demonstrations in towns and cities across the country. Discussions inside the administration indicate that public reaction is one of the factors that will be assessed, as the next stage of enforcement is planned. There are some 160 other men currently being considered for prosecution.

We must make it clear to the Administration that it is unacceptable to prosecute men for refusing to comply with a law which candidate Reagan said was unnecessary.

For more information, contact CCCO, 2208 South St., Philadelphia, PA 19146 (215) 545-4626.

DATES TO NOTE

Is Peacekeeping Helped or Hindered by the Media? Cyrus Sept. 14 Vance and John Chancellor join others in New York City sponsored by Int'l Peace Academy and English Speaking Union, write: ESU, 16 E. 69 St., NYC 10021.

Oct. 6 No First Use of Nuclear Weapons, symposium at Ethical Culture Society, NYC. For information write Council for a Livable World, 11 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass. 02108.

Preaching in America: Speaking Truth to Power—2nd Fosdick Convocation on preaching. Write Riverside Church, Oct. 18-21 490 Riverside Dr., NYC, NY 10027.

Oct. 20-21 Friends of the Earth sponsors First Biennial Conference on Fate of the Earth: Conservation and Security in a Sustainable Society at St. John the Divine, NYC. write: FOE, 208 W. 13 St., NYC, NY 10011.

> Disarming Notes Editorial Board: Mike Clark Marjorie K. Horton Cora Weiss

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PEACE WEEKS ABROAD

From September 21-27 churches in North Holland province of the Netherlands will be welcoming American vistors to join in the country-wide Peace Week activities. A perfect way for "twins" to plan their first gettogether. Why doesn't your church or synagogue arrange to send a representative to Holland for Peace Week, or if you're not twinned and want to go, just write: Wim Bartels, Interchurch Peace Council, P.O. 18747, 2512 ES Gravenhage, Netherlands.

JEWISH LEADERS AGREE ON DANGERS OF THERMONUCLEAR WAR

Over 100 Jewish leaders have signed a statement urging American Jews to address the need for controlling and reversing the nuclear arms race. The statement warned that nuclear catastrophe should not be categorized as "war," a conflict which could be lost or won, just or unjust. Rather, such a war would . . . "lead to the wreckage of all human societies, or even all life on earth. It would be more akin to the Biblical Flood than to any war . . . Jewish tradition teaches us that it is when we grapple with our deepest fears and griefs, when we fully mourn, that we release ourselves to live new and creative lives . . . we urge all American Jews to develop new approaches of mind and spirit in addressing the issues of world disaster and the need for controlling and reversing the nuclear arms race . . . We suggest that synagogues and other Jewish institutions develop special liturgies, hold teach-ins, invite artists to develop works of reawakening and otherwise serve the great command of the Torah: "Choose life that you may live." Rabbi Leonard Beerman, Rabbi Balfour Brickner, Rabbi David Saperstein, Dr. Robert Lifton, Dr. Geo. Wald, Cong. Ted Weiss were among the signers.

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RUDDOCK CALLS on U.N.

past twelve months show that a majority of British people are opposed to buying Trident submarines, opposed to the siting of American cruise missiles and opposed to the continued presence of American nuclear bases in our

She continued: "It is a fact that as technology advances and more accurate weapon systems become available and detection systems improve, the fear of a nuclear first strike becomes a destabilizing reality. It is a fact that those who claim peace through nuclear deterrence fail to recognise the hundred odd wars fought since the United Nations came into being.

It is a fact that the money spent on arms each year could end world hunger and provide homes, education and health for all peoples on this earth." She then offered three ideas for consideration: 1) the rejection of the obsession with the notion of 'parity' in weapons or 'balance' of forces. "Balance is 'fool's gold' and will destroy us all. It should be obvious that if balance is the benchmark of disarmament thinking then the endless game of counting numbers is perpetuated so that 'we' always need more and 'they' need less. Secondly, she urged the concept of unilateral action, as noted in the report of the 1st Special Session of the UN on Disarmament. "There have been attempts by many to make it an unthinkable concept. Every country can and should decide what steps it can take without waiting for some bilateral or multilateral agreement . . . modest steps like financial support for the World Disarmament Campaign, bolder moves like refusing to transfer weapons to areas of conflict or to states guilty of aggression. Some states might refuse new weapons systems. Such steps are mirror images of the arms race itself which proceeds by unilateral steps." Thirdly, Ms. Ruddock described the idea of a . . . Units of local government from villages to London have passed declarations prohibiting the siting of nuclear weapons within their area, refusing participation in nuclear war planning and promising public education about nuclear weapons and their effects.'

Ruddock called for a consensus on a comprehensive test ban treaty; a declaration that the use of nuclear weapons is a crime against humanity; support for the World Disarmament Campaign and a declaration that every nuclear state should reduce its level of weaponry forthwith and finally she called for an agreement on no first use of nuclear weapons

